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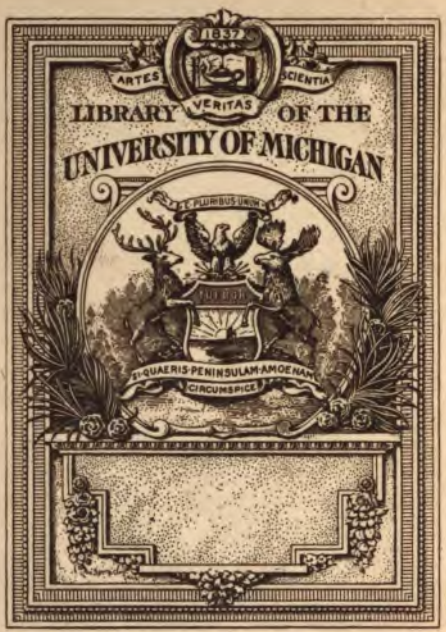
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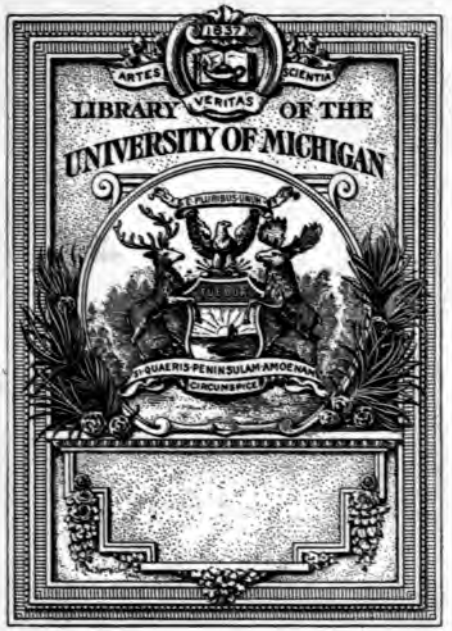
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EDUCATIONAL EXTENSION

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CLEVELAND EDUCATION SURVEY

EDUCATIONAL EXTENSION

BY

CLARENCE ARTHUR PERRY

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF DEPARTMENT OF RECREATION
RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

THE SURVEY COMMITTEE OF THE
CLEVELAND FOUNDATION
CLEVELAND · OHIO

7 1916

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FOREWORD

This report on "Educational Extension" is one of the 25 sections of the report of the Educational Survey of Cleveland conducted by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation in 1915. Twenty-three of these sections will be published as separate monographs. In addition there will be a larger volume giving a summary of the findings and recommendations relating to the regular work of the public schools, and a second similar volume giving the summary of those sections relating to industrial education. Copies of all these publications may be obtained from the Cleveland Foundation. They may also be obtained from the Division of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. A complete list will be found in the back of this volume, together with prices.

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The Eagle School—Cleveland's most intensively used educational plant

EDUCATIONAL EXTENSION

An Astonished Visitor

Among the quiet intellectual delights there are few which afford keener enjoyment than that of witnessing the play of emotion upon the countenance of a person who is undergoing some novel and strange experience. Consider, for example, the pleasure there would be in resurrecting your great-grandfather and taking him, without warning, to a modern public school. How his wrinkled features would stretch, his eyes grow large, and his brow pucker up as he passed through its corridors and came into contact, one after another, with its bewildering activities! He would come with the vivid pictures of his own boyhood living in his memory. The low, shingled schoolhouse he attended—most of our forefathers, you know, lived in the country—its fragrant wood-bin, the whittle-scarred benches, and the gritty slates are all present to his senses. He remembers how in snow-time that single bare room contained examples of all the climates named in

his meager geography, ranging from the frigid zone near the windows to the equatorial belt around the cylindrical stove. The teacher was a thin personage of unimpeachable authority as respects ciphering, reading and spelling, but of whom he never thought of asking advice concerning plowing, planting, mending fences, or any other really practical matter. The moment school was over for the day he fled from it as from a prison and the yearly term seldom lasted more than the two or three winter months when the home folks could best spare him from the engrossing pursuits of the farm. Several such schoolhouses could have been stowed away in his father's granary without so much as lifting its roof. "Book-larnin'" might indeed be necessary for the minister and the lawyer, but farmers and carpenters could get along with very little, and the four or five plain-spoken, and none too learned, trustees upon whom the State imposed the obligation of maintaining a public school, consumed annually but a trifling number of hours and minutes in discharging their educational duties.

With some such mental background as this the venerable gentleman would approach the Eagle school of Cleveland, Ohio. Passing over his surprise at being led into such an immense building—one that towered high above all the

adjacent structures—we see him pausing before the open door of the dispensary where a young woman in a blue gown and a white cap is examining a little boy's back. She makes some notes in a book and then turns to the next child, who presents an arm with the sleeve rolled up. After a rapid examination the nurse applies a medicament and then puts on a bandage. As the old man looks slowly down the line of waiting children he becomes pale. He recollects the black and blue spots his teacher used to inflict with the birch. With pain in his voice he questions, "You hurt as many as that, do you? Your teachers must be mighty brutal!"

While explaining that corporal punishment is today forbidden by law and accidental wounds form only a minor part of the nurse's work, and that her main task, and that of the physician over her, is the business of discovering, and remedying, those defects of the throat, eye, ear and body which prevent the pupil from profiting by his schooling, you hurry your guest downstairs to the shower-room. The smell of towels, the sound of water mingled with boyish shouts, and the sight of little naked bodies all invade your elderly visitor's senses together, and their combined effect is that of shock—not enlightenment. There was nothing like that in his boyhood.

The club-room, but a few steps away, is next brought to his attention. He glances over the tables, the magazines, the pictures, and the signs of games and then turns to you with a slight tinge of impatience—"Where's your school? That's what I came to see." Turning about you conduct him down a few steps into the gymnasium. He sees the spacious room, its ropes, wands, dumb-bells, and leather-covered horse—but these things elicit no comment. Next comes the manual training room. The work-benches, the tools, the bits of incomplete furniture lying about do have a meaning for him and bring him out of his shell. "This ain't no school; this is a cabinet-maker's shop," he remarks defiantly.

Next you whisk him into the elevator and ascend to the top floor. Just around the corner you enter a large room which seems to have hardly any outer wall at all so exposed is it to the open air. All over the room there are little cot-like chairs, each one exhibiting a child, stretched out, well covered, generally somewhat wan and delicate of feature, but nevertheless cheerful and smiling. "What's the matter?" your visitor inquires in hushed tones. You take him outside and explain that those children have tendencies toward consumption which the school is endeavoring to overcome. "Well, I

call that noble!" and the old man's eye kindles as he says it.

"Not at all," you reply. "It's purely selfish. If we don't do this most of those children will die before they become of age and all the money spent on their education will have been wasted." With that you take him into the lunch-room, where a score of children are sitting at tables and receiving their mid-morning nourishment.

"But tell me," queries the old gentleman, "do these children live here?" While explaining how school-feeding came into practice you conduct your visitor down one flight of stairs to the model apartment. He passes through the living-room puzzled but silent. On entering the bedroom he remarks with an accent of satisfaction, "Oh, yes, this is where the teacher lives."

"No—here the children are taught how to keep house," you reply, and, opening the door of the kitchen laboratory, point to the elaborate equipment for culinary exercises. "See, here they learn how to cook."

"Well!" exclaims the old gentleman, unable to conceal his amazement, "don't these girls have any mothers?"

As you pass along the corridor you attempt, in a few words, to describe the changes which have taken place in the home since his day, but the blank expression upon his face shows how

little you are succeeding. An open classroom door attracts his attention and he looks in. The teacher sits at her desk in front; a pupil stands by her seat reading from a book that is held carefully in the right hand.

"Oh, yes," whispers the old man, beaming, "now we've reached the school. It's just the way it used to be."

"But," you interject, waving your hand overhead and around, "all of this is the school."

"What, the cabinet-shop, the—the shower-room, the sick-room, the eating-room, and the—the kitchen there—do you mean to tell me that they are all run by the same—by the school trustees?"

School Functions Grow Continually

In the old gentleman's astonishment we have the emotion that all of us must feel when confronted by the marvelous expansion in public-school functions which has taken place during the last hundred years. The story of this extraordinary extension can be read in the history of every city and village school system in the land. Could we go about from place to place and study intimately the development of each local system we should unearth some wonderfully interesting and dramatic clashes betwee

human wills and human desires. But however varied these incidents might be, if we looked deep enough we should always discover that they were but the superficial aspects of a fundamental social growth. The fact that a school system grows and changes is of interest to us here, not merely because it implies that such a system was one thing yesterday and has become a different thing today, but because of the implication that the system we now have is, this very moment, changing and becoming something else. Curiosity over the future always arouses in us the keenest anticipation.

There are two special reasons why a study of what the Cleveland system is about to become is claiming the attention of all citizens. For what is found to be true in this Ohio city will also be found applicable in practically every other municipality of the United States. Cleveland is in many respects a representative city, both as to people and as to physical environment. The city is located in the midst of a fertile farming region, is situated on a great water channel of continental commerce, and leads a highly varied industrial life. The population is a blending of sturdy native stocks and a rich assortment of foreign strains. Her leading citizens are alert, progressive, and unusually earnest. Advancement along all lines of civic

efficiency is the ambition of the "Sixth City." This is the first reason for the wide-spread interest in this Survey.

A New Development Imminent in Cleveland

The second circumstance that invests the Cleveland school situation with piquancy is the imminence of a remarkable expansion. This development—its formal but modest inception has taken place since this paragraph was first written by the establishment of a Division of School Extension and the appointment of a Supervisor of Community Centers—promises to be so ample in scope and so significant in character that its influence in the educational world is certain to be felt far and wide.

The germs of growth, however, exist within a school system itself. It, like every other organization, has the natural impulse that constantly reaches out for new power and new things to do. Ambitious superintendents and enterprising school committees continually work out improvements in administration which generally mean extensions of educational service. The men and women of the school staffs do not live apart from the world. As members of society they come into contact with social

needs which individually they endeavor to meet through some modification of educational procedure, and where such experiments are successful, the authorities often encourage their adoption by other teachers. Thus, through the initiative of individuals within the system changes and expansion in school functions are constantly taking place.

The social needs which are behind the development that has been prophesied will be only incidentally treated in these pages. They are common to all large cities and they have already been so extensively discussed in current educational literature that they may now be taken for granted. The attempt here will be to show that the new departure is not only entirely in harmony with the real nature of the Cleveland school system, but that the principles of the latter commit it to an active interest in the same field as that of the development which society is demanding. Indeed, it is only fair to say that there are tendencies and actual undertakings within the Cleveland system, which, like the projecting trusses of a new cantilever bridge, are reaching out to meet the structure which society is pushing toward it.

The Heart of a School System

Our search for central principles will be facili-

tated if we first reduce the school system to its lowest terms. Detached wholly from its social environment and stripped of all its administrative wrappings, it will be seen to consist of three elements which correspond to the subject, predicate, and object of a declarative statement.

School Board—Activities—Pupils

We know how the school board comes into existence. The next question is, How does the board determine what activities it will undertake? The law specifies them. What is a law? It is a series of printed symbols designed to convey the wishes of the citizens. How may we know precisely what these symbols mean to the board? Since words have different meanings to different people and only acts are unequivocal, we can know what the board believes its instructions to be only by what it does. So the next step in our search for underlying principles takes us to the predicate of our elemental statement.

Is there any characteristic common to all the activities carried on by the Cleveland Board of Education which seems to constitute a principle of selection? In other words, does its program indicate the existence of some criterion, based upon the nature of the activities themselves,

whereby it decides which are, and which are not, educational? Let us look at the activities.

THE CLEVELAND SCHOOL SYSTEM TEACHES

Reading
Spelling
Language
Grammar
Arithmetic
History
Geography
Gardening
Penmanship
Music
Drawing
German
Wood-working
Cooking
Bed-making
Table-setting
Oratory
Physics
Chemistry
Botany
Advanced Mathematics
Commercial Law
Political Economy
Sanitation
Marketing
Home Decoration
Pattern-making
Forging
Foundry Work
Machine Work
Electrical Construction
Automobile Repairing
Table-serving
Sewing
Civics
Physiology
Hygiene
English
Latin
Greek
French
Spanish
Algebra
Geometry
Bookkeeping
Accounting
Designing
Debating
Printing
Agriculture
Cartooning
Costume Designing
Applied Arts
Domestic Art
Pedagogy
Sex Hygiene
Banking
Economics
Stenography
Typewriting
Salesmanship
Advertising
Office Management

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM PERFORMS THESE SERVICES

Bathes bodies	Furnishes food
Discovers physical defects	Develops physiques
Diagnoses ailments	Supervises play
Treats diseases	Conducts kindergartens
Administers medicaments	Directs work

In the face of such a diversified array of undertakings it is almost hopeless to look for any principle of selection that can be expressed in the terms of the qualities of the activities themselves. In Cleveland teaching a child how to keep his body in good working condition is evidently just as educational as teaching him how to read. A school that not only teaches the customary subjects but also runs a dispensary, a lunchroom, a model living apartment, and a garden is still within its legitimate sphere, according to the practice of the Cleveland authorities. Have these varied activities then nothing in common?

If we examine them all intimately and at the same time think about the occupations of the people about us, we shall discover that all the things Cleveland teachers and staff members are doing for their pupils are also being done in kind outside of the school system. All about us parents are teaching language; mothers are showing daughters how to make beds; farmers are starting sons in agriculture; em-

ployers are teaching beginners how to print, make patterns, run machines, and compute interest; editors are instructing cub reporters how to look up and narrate the history of a man's or an institution's life; librarians are showing assistants how to ascertain the meaning of Latin or Greek terms. If space permitted, it could be shown that every activity in the list originated and is still being carried on outside of school walls. It may be that they are carried on poorly, inadequately, uneconomically, and only here and there, but they are all nevertheless common factors of normal domestic, industrial, and commercial life. Not one of them is indigenous to the public school.

Improvement the Essence of Public Education

What then does the school do to these activities? In a word, it improves the performance of them. In the home the teaching of the three R's is generally neither regular nor efficient. The school systematizes it and makes it certain that all children receive it. The instruction in the office, shop, or field is casual and not usually given by a person trained in the art of imparting knowledge. The school uses specialists in pedagogy and performs the work of teaching

more economically—when measured in the terms of results—than the family or the entrepreneur, since through the class system the services of one person are simultaneously afforded to a score or more of individuals. "To take a common but vital human activity that may be well performed by the few, but is carried on imperfectly by the many, and lift it universally to a higher plane—this is the essential function of public education."*

If we can accept improvement as the constant, irreducible, and immutable characteristic of the work of the Cleveland school system, then we have gotten at its first central principle. Its essential nature is not expressed in the activities it takes over but in the betterment it imparts to the performance of them.

The Motive Behind State-supported Schools

Considering public schools in general, and the Cleveland schools in particular, we have concluded that their function as social organs is improvement. Having answered the question, What? the next question to ask is, Why? Why

* "The Extension of Public Education," by Clarence Arthur Perry, U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1915, No. 28, page 9. The whole introduction of this monograph is devoted to an amplification of this definition.

has the State authorized the establishment of a vast machine for improving people? Let us see if any clue can be obtained from a glance at the human beings upon whom the efforts of public education are being expended.

THE CLASSES OF PEOPLE DEALT WITH BY THE CLEVELAND SCHOOL SYSTEM

Kindergarten	Young children
Primary and grammar grades	Boys and girls
Special schools	Deaf and blind pupils Crippled, epileptic, and tubercular pupils Truants, defectives, and delinquents
High and normal schools	Youths, maidens, and adults
Evening schools	Immigrants Incompletely educated adolescents and adults

Immature or handicapped—the recipients of public education are all included in one or the other of these two classes. Why should the State be so concerned over them? Why does it go to such vast lengths to improve the conduct of their development? Without its intervention most of them would have gotten, in a haphazard way, some grasp upon the instruments of knowledge, a smattering of ordinary facts, and some measure of industrial usefulness.

Universal State-supported education is less than 200 years old. During all the centuries previous to its advent people worked, brought up families, and obtained happiness entirely without its aid. Why do State legislatures now pass laws requiring municipalities to maintain public schools? If we compare the history of democratic governmental institutions with the history of free schools we shall find that shortly after every extension of the former there has been a strengthening of the demand for the latter. If the masses are to participate in the task of ruling themselves they must be trained for the job. Incompetency in the exercise of the suffrage or the discharge of official responsibilities on the part of any one element of the population endangers the safety of all the others. In a democratic society the motive of self-preservation demands public measures for insuring that all its young and its handicapped individuals shall be fitted to discharge with at least a minimum of competency the duties of citizenship. Left entirely to themselves, it is not certain that the mass of the people would secure that knowledge of how the government is run and how the people outside of their own spheres live, which is necessary to intelligent civic action.

It will be necessary to admit, in these latter days, the operation also of other motives in the shaping of school programs. To a certain extent parents are finding in the public school a form of co-operation whereby they can secure for their children certain life-enriching benefits which by themselves alone they cannot afford to provide. Some knowledge and appreciation of music and the graphic arts, ability to understand and enjoy good literature, and more or less familiar acquaintance with science all increase human happiness, and these intrinsic values account largely for the attention paid to such subjects in school curricula. The possession of culture improves social position and therein is also a powerful motive for using the co-operative machinery of the public school. Private, economic reasons, too, are to be found behind the courses giving a vocational preparation, and if we carried the search of educational motives far enough, we should doubtless discover other selfish reasons which were apparently unrelated to society as a whole.

A second glance, however, at these motives reveals the fact that practically all of them have also a social or civic intent. If all classes are to be represented among the civic and political leaders, all classes must have opportunities to acquire a broad culture. If all classes are not

represented in government counsels, the safety of the State, history shows, is not permanently secured. To broaden and equalize the opportunities for vocational success and for the realization of personal capacities, by modifications of the social order, is the avowed purpose of democratic government, and insofar as the schools tend to do the same thing, through the training of the individual, they are complementing each other. Domestic science, through its influence in preserving for the young the wholesome environment of the home contributes to the stability of the State, and the fact that mothers have naturally so much to do with the education of their sons was undoubtedly a strong reason for including girls in the original scheme of public education, and now that the suffrage is being gradually extended to women their training at the expense of the State is demanded by all the civic motives which urge free schooling for males.

Civic Concern Back of Industrial Education

The prevailing movement for industrial and continuation education may have had, and may be still enjoying, the backing of selfish class interests, but it is equally certain that many of

its supporters are animated principally by the desire to lengthen, even in an attenuated way, the school's developmental influence upon the lives of coming citizens. The latter is plainly the leading motive in the mind of Dr. George Kerschensteiner, creator and director of the present continuation schools of Munich, the system which has been studied more thoroughly perhaps than any other in connection with the initiation of industrial education in this country. In 1901 Dr. Kerschensteiner published a short essay which received a prize from the Royal Academy of Erfurt. Because of the force of its arguments the author was asked to undertake the reorganization of the Fortbildungsschulen of Munich. The essay bore the significant title, "The Civic Education of German Youth," and it is regarded so highly as an argument for industrial education that a translation of it was published and circulated far and wide in this country by the Chicago Commercial Club. Here is an excerpt from the beginning (pages 11 and 12) of the essay which is not only a striking portrayal of our own present social and educational situation, but shows plainly Dr. Kerschensteiner's purpose in urging continuation schools:

"The rapid growth of towns, and especially of great cities, with their moral dangers; the inevitable weakening of the old educative in-

fluences of family, trade, and class, which is a result of the economic, social, and political developments of the present day; the increase of wealth and the growing desire for pleasure which accompanies it; the manner in which the people abuse the liberty won for them by a liberal humanism and an intelligent democracy; the development of political conditions at home, and much else, make the complete cessation of an orderly public education at the age of thirteen or fourteen a grave disadvantage. The little that we are able to give our primary pupils is sufficient to make the evil tendencies of everyday life as liable to influence them as the good. As it is impossible to give a definite direction to the character at the age of thirteen or fourteen by means of the primary school, and as young people at that age are without exception selfish, our primary education is for the individual, and still more for the mass, a gift of the Danaides rather than a bounty from heaven. We give the people all too readily a fire which it cannot tend, a hammer which it cannot wield, and a cast of mind on which the demagogue who promises everything can work more easily than the leader who remains faithful to high principles."

The conditions thus outlined indicate clearly the problem with which the author was preoccupied. How he hoped to solve it through industrial education is revealed in the following extract (page 24):

"To sum up, the first aim of education for those leaving primary school is the development of trade efficiency and love of work, and with this the development of those elementary virtues which effectiveness of effort and love of work immediately call forth—conscientiousness, diligence, perseverance, responsibility, self-restraint, and dedication to a strenuous life.

"In close connection with this the second aim must be pursued: to gain an insight into the relations of individuals to one another and to the State, to understand the laws of health, and to employ the knowledge acquired in the exercise of self-control, justice, and devotion to duty, and in leading a sensible life tempered with a strong feeling of personal responsibility."

Throughout the essay the constant concern is over the formation of character. The uppermost purpose in providing apprentices with trade instruction is its effect in making them efficient, responsible members of the State. Whether or not we agree with the methods they propose, if we could look deeply into the hearts of those who in America are promoting the establishment of technical high schools and systems of trade-improvement instruction we should find the same motive which Dr. Kerschensteiner has so trenchantly set forth. Thoroughgoing training for citizenship is not limited to an academic knowledge of the duties of a voter

or to the development of the intellectual powers necessary to fill office. It includes any mental and moral discipline that fits the individual for a vocation, prepares him for the responsibilities of family life and community life, helps him to develop resources of contentment, and strengthens his moral backbone.

If it were possible to eliminate every private and selfish reason from the motives which are behind public education, the free school would still be kept in existence by the necessity of providing a training for citizenship. If, on the other hand, the latter motive were excluded, it is dubious how long public school systems would endure upon a purely individualistic and voluntarily coöperative basis. And certainly a State-supported system of instruction which unfitted young people for citizenship would be self-destroying. May we not conclude then that the civic motive is the ultimate, irreducible reason for public education and that in it we have found the second principle which illuminates its essential nature.

Efficiency in Educational Processes

If the reader should turn back to the list of activities of the Cleveland system, it might occur to him to ask just how those under the head

of services are related, roundabout, to a training for citizenship. Medical inspection and treatment, bathing, body-building, and school feeding do, of course, afford an immediate benefit to the growing boy, but how do they affect his preparation for the far-off responsibilities of a useful member of society? The explanation is to be found in the recognition of the fact that a school system, intelligently conceived, is bound to render such services to the pupil as are required to enable him to profit fully from the classroom instruction while it is being given. If a child cannot hear the teacher, its ears must be treated. If it cannot see the blackboard, its eyes must be fitted with glasses. If it is likely to die from tuberculosis during or after receiving its schooling, it must be taught in an open-air room. If its brain does not function well because of hunger, it must be fed. It is, in a word, the modern idea of efficiency, applied to education, the insistence upon obtaining the largest possible result from the energy applied. While subordinate to the two other principles which have been set forth, it must nevertheless be included in a complete definition of those rigid internal laws through whose ceaseless operation all the varied tasks laid by society upon the Cleveland school system are reshaped and made congruent with its own essential nature.

The Formula of the Cleveland System

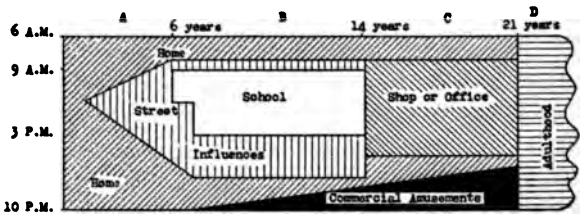
May we not now terminate our probings into the heart of this school system with the following formula? The function of the school is to assume, and thereby improve, the carrying on of those activities, not adequately managed by any other social agency, which prepare human beings for useful membership in a democratic society, and its policy is to do this with the maximum of result that is obtainable with the means and facilities at its disposal. No narrower definition, it seems to the writer, would be adequate to explain the enormous variety of courses of study and forms of service now under the administration of the Cleveland Board of Education.

Our reason, it will be recalled, for bringing into light the underlying principles of the Cleveland system was the belief that they commit it to an active sympathy with the huge new development that has been prophesied for the near future. How now do the implications of the formula we have worked out bear upon that view? Let us look for a moment at the field in which the public school works.

The Progress of Youth

If we should attempt to present graphically the channels through which the life of a young

man flows during his waking hours from birth to majority we should picture it as a ribbon-like figure, similar in its main features to that which is shown in Diagram 1. His conscious



life-stream, on an average sixteen hours wide, has its beginning in the home, and until the age of two years is pretty well confined to the home. Thereafter, as shown in period A, an increasingly larger part of it flows through the street, with all its varied activities. At five years several morning hours pass into the kindergarten, and at six a portion of the afternoon is also diverted into the school channel, but during the whole period of B approximately four hours a day are spent in the street while a larger and larger amount of time is given to the movie, the candy shop, and other places of evening amusement. During period C the shop or the office is substituted for the school, and the pool-room, the theater, the dance-hall, and the ath-

letic club absorb more and more of the marginal hours. This chart is of course not true concerning the exceptional young boy or man, the one who sells newspapers or who attends the evening or high school, who belongs to the church or devotes his leisure to study and self-improvement—he belongs to the minority. With the majority of adolescents their days are apportioned approximately as shown in the diagram.

Our figure would be much truer to life if we could imagine it as the surface of a bolt or screw covered with a fine thread, in the spiral groove of which the individual, like a tiny insect, passed round and round in the long journey from infancy to adulthood. We should then be able to see a day in the life of a school-boy just as it is. We should see the little speck coming out of the darkness of the night into view at the top of the diagram; spending a couple of hours dressing, breakfasting, and doing things about the house; passing thence into the street for an hour of walking, running, fence-jumping, top-spinning, or marble-playing; plunging next into six hours of marching, reciting, reading, writing, and poring over books; coming out into the street, vacant lot, or backyard for baseball, leap-frog, or craps; going home then for food, conversation, some fuel-fetching, and a delving into juvenile literature; and finally emerging

on the street again for a lark with the policeman, a glimpse at the pool-players, or the enthraldom of the movie. Thus our boyish individual would follow the slanting groove down across the diagram and disappear into the darkness behind it. When he appeared at the top again he would be one thread, one day, nearer his goal—manhood.

The School Aims at Adulthood

The business of the school is to deposit something in that boy—and something more than facts out of books—during every trip he makes through it. Each little daily addition must be tied up with all the preceding deposits in such a way as to make a tight, compact, well-balanced cargo since, according to our formula, its destination is adulthood. If, during any of the turns of adolescence the boy drops the school's shipment or takes on any packages which neutralize or contaminate, the main purpose of the school's activity will have been defeated. A youth does not vote or fill office. He has no civic status except that of a ward of the State. It is important that he be orderly in his public behavior, and the processes of elementary education do undoubtedly contribute to that end, but their great fruitage cannot, in the nature

of the case, appear until he arrives at the years of citizenship. The school may have given a lad an excellent theoretical training in civics and in the habits of industry, but if he reach his majority—twenty-one—a drunkard and a gambler, its labor will have been in vain.

We are now in a position to perceive the application of our formula to the active interests of the Cleveland school system. The principle of efficiency, already so well exemplified in its medical inspection, open-air classes, and school lunches, is demanding that a larger percentage of the school's product in the form of success in citizenship arrive at its destination in a good condition.

Progressive school systems are more and more concerning themselves with three new lines of educational endeavor—(1) Measures designed to overcome so far as possible those influences of the home and street upon the pupil's character. (2) Steps of a nature to extend, beyond the limits of the high and evening schools, the city's care over its future citizens through the adolescent years (period C), to the period of adulthood. (3) The means of a greater closeness of contact between themselves and the public, so that their purposes might be more widely and sympathetically understood, with the hope that thereby the money for new

services would be forthcoming. Let us now look more intimately at each of these three proposals.

The School and the Home

An instance is at hand which is apposite in two ways. It illustrates accurately and graphically how a school may overcome hostile home conditions, and as an undertaking of the Cleveland Board of Education it constitutes an outstretching toward the development that has been prophesied. The Eagle school, to which the reader has already been introduced, is situated in the Haymarket district, a locality where many foreigners, especially those from southeastern Europe and western Asia, settle upon first coming to the city. The cleverer and more adaptable immigrants soon move on to more desirable quarters; the duller and less energetic remain behind. Through this sifting process the district gradually became the habitation of people who were generally poor and unable to give adequate attention to the needs of growing children. The parents were often not only ignorant of the demands of childish natures and without a sense of obligation concerning them, but such solicitude as, in obedience to old-country traditions, they did exercise, was frequently nulli-

fied by that loss of parental authority which always occurs when a more rapid absorption of the language and customs of the adopted country on the part of the immigrant children tempts them to hold in disdain their ignorant fathers and mothers.

What obstacles the teachers of the Eagle school have had to contend with in preparing children for successful life careers can be partially appreciated when it is pointed out that, only a few years ago, a large proportion of their pupils had skin disease, many of them had been discovered foraging for their breakfasts in garbage-cans, begging was a common occupation of the hours which belonged to play, the truancy records had placed the district at the top of the list, and parents abounded who were not averse to the marriage of their daughters at the early age of 14. What an unpromising rocky soil in which to grow the seeds of decency, industry, and intelligence! How could a teacher hope to give the lasting shape of American citizenship to a bit of soft human clay which, after a brief handling, she had each day to turn over to the molding influences of such a social environment?

The tremendousness of the task seems, however, only to have called forth from the principal and teachers more persistent effort and greater skill. In the classroom emphatic but inoffen-

sive ways were constantly sought for impressing upon pupils the inherent degradation of begging. An investigation into the causes of tardiness revealed the time-consuming methods (already referred to) of securing a breakfast which, if they were to have one at all, some of the children were obliged to use. To remedy this condition systematic feeding was inaugurated at the school. The diseases of the skin were gradually banished by the medical inspection staff, while in handling the early marriage problem effective coöperation was obtained from the neighborhood priest.

An instrument specially adapted to the peculiar needs of the Haymarket district was placed in the hands of the school staff by the educational authorities when the present Eagle building was erected. Its remarkable facilities have already been alluded to in the introductory pages of this report. First opened in September, 1913, the amelioration of social conditions in the neighborhood traceable directly to the special features of this edifice has already completely demonstrated the wisdom which the school board displayed in selecting that type of architecture for that particular locality. The "model flat," the lunch-room, the superior shop and kitchen facilities, the ample dispensary accommodations, the shower-room

and gymnasium, the open-air classrooms, and the spacious auditorium have all been most useful means in developing sound physiques, housewifely skill, and industrious dispositions along with facility in the use of the instruments of knowledge.

If, however, the teachers had used their pedagogical skill and their material apparatus upon the pupils only, and only during class hours, their efforts would have been subject to serious counteractions. Such deposits of sound living-methods as they might have made upon those boys and girls from nine to three o'clock would have been largely rubbed off by the sights, sounds, and habits that surrounded them between the hours of three and nine. If you are poor and your child helps to eke out your subsistence by begging, it seems to hurt you when somebody shuts off that source of income. If by marrying off your many daughters you attach wage-bringing sons-in-law to the family treasury, it feels like a deprivation if some stranger succeeds in retarding the recruiting process. And you resent such interferences with your comfort with especial keenness if you have never met the meddler and do not understand her aims. Also, unless your ability to free yourself from prejudice is rather well developed, you will be disposed to frown upon and oppose any

The Doan School Mothers' Club in Cleveland

changes in your child's behavior which seem to be proceeding from contact with the meddler, largely because that is the only way you can get back at her. It is hardly necessary to add that such resentment is not confined to the immigrant class.

The Eagle school people took the psychological way of neutralizing home hostility. They brought the parents into immediate contact with themselves and into an understanding of their aims. Beginnings came about naturally in connection with the medical inspection work, when the school nurse visited parents to explain why their boy needed his adenoids removed, why their daughter required glasses, or how a discharging ear should be treated. The contact was further broadened by occasions which brought mothers and fathers to the school. Domestic-science classes were opened for housewives and the manual-training shop was thrown open to the men. Here prospective brides learned how to cook and prospective bridegrooms made furniture for future homes. Mothers were invited to bring their daughters to a dancing class and to sit and crochet in the library while waiting for them. The gymnasium and game-room were thrown open to the children of parents who could attend the mothers' club or the citizenship class only if there was

some place where their youngsters could be left in the meanwhile.

These opportunities soon won the confidence and coöperation of the parents. They may not have appreciated immediately what the teacher had in mind when she urged their boy to stop throwing banana peelings in the street, but at least they reached the point of view where they did not at once see in it an attack upon their rights. They came to believe sincerely, even if sometimes blindly, in the benevolence of the school's attitude, and they gave evidence of this belief in the assistance they began to seek at the hands of the school staff. If a woman cut her hand she would come to the dispensary to have it bandaged. If a man was out of work he would ask the principal to help him get a job. Widows have besought aid in getting pension money; indeed, all sorts of troubles—even marital tangles—have been brought to the Eagle school and the supplicants have not gone away disappointed.

The results of this intimate relationship between the school and its patrons can best be stated in the words of its principal: "It used to be one of the hardest schools to discipline; it is now one of the easiest. As a matter of fact, our pupils give us practically no trouble on that score. We used to be highest in truancy; now we're just average." The friction between

school and home has been largely removed or reduced to a minimum. What the school places in the child is not only allowed to remain—it is encouraged to take root and to grow.

Other schools in Cleveland also have points of direct contact with parents. The majority hold entertainments or exhibitions at least once or twice a year. In over 50 buildings mothers' clubs hold monthly or semi-monthly afternoon meetings, while throughout the system parents are brought in now and then to see their child receive a gardening diploma, to explain why it is not wearing the glasses which were prescribed, or for some other educational purpose. Besides these connections, there are many night-school classes, lectures, concerts, amateur theatricals, and other evening occasions which bring parents into school buildings and thus acquaint them with the physical, if not the personal, aspects of the daytime environment of their children. But there is no other school in Cleveland in which the direct contact with the home is quite as extensive and continuous as at the Eagle school.

And yet it may be confidently laid down that there is not a school district in the city, or in any other city or town, where the standards of behavior which obtain in a substantial number of homes do not hinder the development which

is being nursed by the public teacher. Disagreements about the hours of study, pronunciation, diction, apparel, nourishment, amusements, proprieties in dancing or calisthenics—conflicts of opinion and habit on these and many other points—exist between school and home in highly cultured and respectable sections as well as in the slums. Children are quick to perceive these differences and to use them as a basis for disregarding instructions which conflict for the moment with their selfish wishes.

Training in habit-formation, which constitutes a large part of public education, is not accomplished immediately and by precept, but by bringing it about that the pupil repeats, a great many times, a given series of actions always in the same sequence. If, however, in the domestic-science room a girl is always required to cook in this fashion—(1) weigh and proportion ingredients accurately, (2) mix them, (3) bake, (4) put away utensils and clean table, and at home is allowed to (1) guess at quantities of ingredients, (2) mix them, (3) bake, (4) read a novel while the servant or the mother cleans up, then the fixation of a correct work-habit in that daughter's character is being retarded by the home environment and an important end of public education is being defeated. The progressive teacher is required by the nature of her

profession to be a specialist in the best ways of doing things. The mother and housewife does not, on the other hand, enjoy the stimulus and discipline of a profession, and her tasks are almost universal in their scope and method. It follows as a matter of course that the ways of doing things in the average public school are superior to the ways the same things are done in the average home of its respective district.

Educators are, all over the country, recognizing the necessity of getting better teamwork between the school and the home. They are appreciating that they cannot compel parents to come to the schoolhouse, but that they can attract them there. The method is the same everywhere. It is that of setting up enjoyable occasions in the school building. The agency is a mothers' club, a parent-teacher association, or what has come to be known as "the social center." Sometimes the program is arranged by an outside organization and sometimes by the school officials. The essential thing is that such occasions are arranged and that through them the parents of the community are brought into pleasant and suggestive contact with the aims and methods of the school. If the relation of these to the welfare of the children is made sufficiently obvious, the natural inclinations of

mothers and fathers will impel them to adopt similar aims and ways in their own homes.

The Cleveland school authorities already realize the importance of their home-influencing activities at the Eagle school. They are conscious too of the need of similar undertakings in other schools. As time goes by they will undoubtedly devote more and more energy to the elaboration of city-wide machinery for bringing parents into immediate touch with the school system and that machine will be a part of the larger development we are foretelling.

The School and the Street

Making a book-shelf in a school shop demonstrates one of the fundamental things of moral life—that personal toil normally precedes the possession of a valuable commodity. The boy who passes from the manual-training room into a back-alley crap game, where chance, not skill, confers wealth, is confronted with a challenging contradiction of the law which the school has just been trying to write into his being. The lesson of the street is often not only more thrilling but plainer than the lesson of the classroom. No school system that is sincere in its desire to make its deposits stick in the pupil's marrow can overlook the plucking devices which await him

outside the classroom door. The sinister influences of the street operate upon boys and girls on the way to and from school and after the evening meal, and they are to be found in residential sections as well as in tenement-house districts. Wherever cigarettes can be smoked, gambling games played, property-destroying pranks set off, libidinous literature perused, or any other kind of unwholesome conduct indulged in—in all such places the conditions are suitable for a wholesale undoing of the school's hard-wrought accomplishments.

The activities at the Eagle school are also suggestive of ways in which hostile street influences can be counteracted. Among its organizations is one known as the Sanitation Club. Any boy of the neighborhood who has reached 15 is eligible for membership and its purpose is "to keep this community clean and samitary and promote the physical, mental, and moral advancement of its residents." The club meets weekly at seven p. m. in the school building and there perfects plans for carrying on its work. Through its endeavors a vacant lot was filled in and made into a playground, stables have been cleaned up, and insanitary shacks have been razed. These and similar deeds have proved so beneficial to the community that the club's work has received official recognition from the

municipal health department. But the members do not spend all their leisure in civic work. An athletic committee arranges basket-ball games and another group gets up social affairs. Chewing-gum, tobacco, and profane language are banned by the by-laws and infractions are penalized by the abrogation of gymnasium and other desirable privileges. The organization has been fathered by the socially minded medical inspector stationed at the school, and it has had every encouragement from the principal. Thus through the instrumentality of this club that part of the life of 25 or 30 boys which ordinarily eludes the vigilance of both the school and the home has been furnished with exploits and activities which are highly enjoyable and at the same time develop the sense of civic obligation.

Among other features of the evening program at the Eagle school which help to protect the after-supper period—the time which is perhaps most filled with pitfalls for the unguided—may be mentioned a boys' brass band, a boys' chef club, a girls' club, a dancing class, a cooking class, and several other organizations for young people. The miscellaneous use of the library, game-room, and gymnasium by the children of the adults in attendance has already been alluded to. Recreational and entertaining occasions in both the

afternoon and evening take place also in many other school buildings of the city, and, while not so extensive or so completely organized as at the Eagle, they are all evidence of a new direction in which the Board of Education is extending, and is bound to extend still more widely, its safeguarding power. And in this it will not be unique. One of the important advantages claimed for the Gary plan is its lengthening of the school day, for the specific purpose of thereby shortening the pupil's street and alley-time. Similar results are also obtained by the after-school play centers in New York and the afternoon activities carried on in the schools of Louisville, Grand Rapids, and other progressive cities.

We come now to the second form of educational concern to which the Cleveland authorities are committed by the principles they practise—that, namely, which seeks to extend the system's influence over the city's future citizens from the elementary school period through adolescence. Dr. Ayres has shown* that one-third of all graduates from the Cleveland eighth grades do not enter the high schools. A few of those who go out into the world probably attend evening school. But Efficiency asks,

* P. 33, "Child Accounting in the Public Schools." Leonard P. Ayres. Cleveland Education Survey.

"What becomes of the others?" They, too, bear precious cargoes of character-material which the public school, with its eye upon the coming years of citizenship, has labored so hard to fix securely upon them.

Social Control Through the Teen-age

In Cleveland, as in every other city and town in the land that has not adequately organized the recreations of its young people, the work of the public schools in bringing up successful citizens is being continually undone in greater or less degree by the evil influences under which adolescents are thrown during their leisure hours. The social wastage in the form of young men who become gamblers, loafers, and criminals and of young women who unfit themselves for happy home lives is so constant and so gradual that we little appreciate its enormity. The drip, drip, drip of a faucet may seem trivial at a glance, but collect the wastage for 24 hours and you will be surprised at the quantity of the water being lost. Only a small fraction of the total disasters to character during a year find their way into the newspapers, and there is besides a vast amount of gradual moral deterioration which never shows itself in any positive or conspicuous manner; there may be simply a stoppage

New York young people in a school center

of finer development, the unrealization of some noble potentiality. Youth and young manhood are the periods for fostering talent and special abilities and if they are not thus employed an incalculable loss to the individual and to society is, unnoticeably perhaps but nevertheless really, sustained. And such failure is made all the more pathetic in many cases by the fact that the development of special talent might have occurred as a form of play if only the leadership and the proper atmosphere had been provided.

It is true that character-building and the preservation of moral values are also the functions of the home and of the church, but both of these agencies have been at work for years and still the social wastage continues. The former, especially, is being modified by powerful economic and social forces; changes are occurring both within it and outside of it which lessen its ability to provide a suitable recreational, social, and developmental environment for young people. Schools were created in the first place to make up the deficiencies of the home, and no disloyalty to it can now be found in this new demand upon the public school to come again to its assistance.

In approaching this problem educational authorities are to be congratulated upon the fact that a method has already been elaborated

for conserving and perfecting the potentialities of adolescents. Two institutions, the Y. M. C. A. and the social settlement, have been working in this field for a long time, and their results are on the whole so satisfactory that they are now receiving the generous support of practical-minded people all over the country. During the past three years over $110,000 have been given to the Cleveland Y. M. C. A.s by sound-thinking, foreward-looking men and women. The Y. W. C. A. during 1914 received over $15,000 from similar sources, and a large part of the support for Cleveland's social settlements comes from people who are accustomed to invest their money in genuine social values.

But if these associations are so well fitted to do this work, why expect the public schools to take it up? The answer is simple and not far to seek. The combined capacities of the seven local Y. M. C. A. buildings is 9,300, the capacity of the Y. W. C. A. is about 1,500, while the number of young people in Cleveland—those from 15 to 24 years inclusive—who need these facilities is approximately 135,000. It is true that the high and evening schools, the public library and its branches, the social settlements, the church gymnasiums and guild-houses, the park dance-halls, and the swimming pavilions are all helping to fill in the gap be-

tween those two sets of figures, but some of these institutions are open only during the summer and many of them are patronized as well by persons both younger and older than the above-mentioned age-group, so that in reality they meet the needs of but a small proportion of this particular class. No matter how ample the church and Y. M. C. A. accommodations for athletic and club activities might become, they would always be unutilized by large elements of the population because of their religious auspices.

For the youth with definite vocational aspirations toward one of the older and more standardized callings the Cleveland school system has for years been offering unusual advantages. In its academic and technical schools the prospective doctor, lawyer, mechanic, bookkeeper, stenographer, dressmaker, and milliner can, during the margin of the day, find that which will help greatly to smooth the path of apprenticeship. But to many young people—probably to a majority of them—their future occupation does not appear with any such clearness and certainty. They honestly do not know what they want to do. Conscious of no special inclination or talent, they merely drift with the tide of surrounding life, looking for something to turn up, and hoping that the problem of finding a

congenial calling will somehow or other solve itself.

And yet it is quite apparent that practically every individual's abilities or capacities must have a trend or a leaning in some one particular direction. It may be only a humorous trick of manner or speech, a facility in mimicry, an agility in moving the feet, or an unusual control of certain muscles. It might not be of an order that could ever serve as the means of a livelihood, but whatever its rank, its exercise and development would tend to distinguish its possessor among his immediate fellows and constitute a happy occupation for his leisure hours. But if the special ability should prove to be a talent of bread-winning potency—and no one can ever guarantee in advance that it will not—then its development is manifestly of supreme importance to the individual and of potential value to society at large.

Any scheme which enables a person to discover early in life the things he can do best and affords him opportunity to do them is probably the safest insurance that can be devised against the corrosive effects of an ill-spent leisure. The lad with a singing voice is not likely to "hang out" in the saloon if an applause more worth while awaits him in the glee club. The natural mimic will not long be content with being a mere

Debating club in a Brooklyn school center

spectator of vaudeville if there is a stage in the neighborhood where he himself can be the performer. The youth with a latent interest in electricity will occasion little anxiety over the manner of spending his evenings after he has once tasted the joys of membership in a wireless society. And so it is with every other kind of special ability—its exercise, development, and realization form one of the most fascinating occupations known to mankind.

Of course, there are some who contend that the abilities of the majority do not show any decided leanings, or any at least so well marked that their cultivation would afford either pleasure to their possessors or advantage to society. In considering this point it must always be borne in mind that we are not here concerned with highly talented or gifted individuals, but with the average run of human beings. The belief that only the exceptional person has special ability is necessarily based upon observation, upon an appraisal of the adults we see about us. The author contends that we cannot make a safe judgment that way. Because people have actually grown up to be such and such is not convincing evidence that they would not have become something quite different if they had developed in a more favorable environment.

Lester F. Ward has presented* a large amount of evidence tending to show that favoring circumstances have had not a little to do with determining the lives of practically all geniuses and persons of distinction. The truth is that never, since the dawn of history, have all classes of young people been surrounded with the precise conditions which are requisite for the early discovery and development of particular abilities. The finding of talent has always been left to chance. Man is only just beginning to think about a scientific method of looking for it. If genius and talent are merely higher orders of special ability, and upon their first appearance not usually to be distinguished from ability in general, this method, to be efficient, will have to be aimed at the detection of all capacities, big or little. The main principle that will probably be followed can be stated very briefly.

A baby always discovers his hands. He does not know that they exist when he first comes into the world. Nobody can tell him about them because none can speak his language. Some day the pillows which bolster him up slip and he topples over. In his floundering efforts to right himself the protuberances flopping from his shoulders accidentally prove of assistance. The circumstance makes a tiny dent upon his con-

* Applied Sociology, p. 252, *et seq.*

A Boston school center

sciousness. From birth the fingers close, by reflex action, about anything that touches the palm. One day a hand comes up with a noisy rattle caught in the fist. The unexpected rumpus which breaks out in the universe puts another dent in the brain-cells, and then still others happen, until altogether they constitute a perception. Baby has finally found his hands.

The young person discovers his abilities in very much the same way, through haphazard use. Without warning or conscious determination he lights upon an activity in which he is superior to those about him. The performance of it gives him an unusual pleasure. He has "found himself," as we say. If some amplitude of means or some circumstance of occupation enables him to repeat that activity over and over again, to make mistakes in it without heavy penalties, to experiment with it this way and that, then there begins to grow and to take on importance that which we ultimately call talent or perhaps genius. The probability that an adolescent will hit upon the activity which will light up his soul with the consciousness of a special capacity or ability is exactly proportional to the extent of his opportunity for varied action. The more things he can try his hand at, the greater the likelihood of his finding his particular *metiér*. The larger his oppor-

tunity to practise it after discovering it, the greater is the certainty that it will play an important part in his subsequent life.

The individual's best guide, in his search for congenial activities, is his own roving fancy, and the only period of the day when people are free to indulge their own whims, to do the thing that fancy dictates, is the period of leisure. The task laid upon the adolescent who is forced into an early employment happens only rarely to be the kind of occupation he would seek of his own volition. His only chance of finding himself lies in the margin of the day, the hours between labor and sleep. Many a university student, with exceptional facilities for solving the vocational problem, often finds his road to a calling, not through the curriculum, but through college journalism, the dramatic society, the glee club, the management of an athletic team, or some other non-academic leisure-time activity. In the case of young people who are without the means for long study and experimentation and are not surrounded by friends capable of giving helpful advice, the need of a wide range of opportunity of action during the hours off duty is all the greater. Nor is the necessity lessened by the fact that a large and growing proportion of all toilers today are doomed to unskilled machine-tending occupa-

tions. As Percival Chubb has remarked, "If man can no longer save his soul through his work—and only a few of us can under modern conditions—there is all the greater reason why he should be enabled to save his soul through his play."

Indoor sports, such as basket-ball, dancing, billiards, boxing, and swimming, may seem unrelated to a calling or even a serious avocation. Their function is probably mainly recreative, but since they give an outlet to biological impulses which were planted in the human race during its hunting and tribal eras they also constitute the means of a fundamental kind of self-expression, and the attributes they develop—physical courage, accuracy of eye, better teamwork between nerve and muscle, and the habit of quick decision followed by adequate action—are all assets of prime value in any sphere of activity. But it is a notable and significant fact that athletic sports constitute only a part, and sometimes a minor part at that, of the evening programs now being carried on in what are called social or community centers. In the school buildings devoted to such purposes young people are playing in orchestras, singing in choruses, acting in amateur theatricals, managing entertainments, debating public questions, organizing associations, financing civic work

schemes, dressing stages, drawing from models, contriving wireless outfits, building bookcases, cooking new dishes, embroidering art squares, trimming hats, and fashioning new gowns. There is no other institution that is in a position to afford the growing youth or maiden the same amplitude of opportunity for self-expression and happy testing of abilities. The home is without adequate facilities or the requisite organization. The church can offer it only by constructing new buildings, a departure which would be economically wasteful unless week-day, as well as evening, use were also to be provided. The modern public school, especially the high school, is oftentimes better equipped to afford young people the requisite range of opportunity than is the ordinary Y. M. C. A. or social settlement. Shops, kitchens, science rooms, libraries, museums and stages, as well as gymnasiums and swimming pools, are all needed for this work and they are coming to be regular features of the up-to-date school plant.

Offering young people activities that reveal and develop ability while satisfying the instinct for play—that is the large way whereby public education is now extending its oversight through the teen-age. What Cleveland has already done in this direction will be described a little farther on. It is enough to say now that

the desire to follow the adolescent through to adulthood, which is so well evidenced in its night schools and the community-center work already started, presages still greater developments in this important field.

The School Board and the Public

The motive for the third line of interest is to be found in a distinctive characteristic of democratic institutions—the necessity of those in authority continually to build up in public sentiment support for the continuance and even extension of the powers conferred upon them by the people. And this is as true of educational authorities as it is of the President of the United States or of any other servant of the people. The reason for this is psychological, and it can be illustrated out of the history of almost any board of education.

Suppose we consider the case of a newly elected non-professional school committee. Upon assumption of office their knowledge of school matters is that of the more intelligent citizens of the community. They would not claim to be educational experts or seek to initiate, at the outset, any undertakings that were not specifically authorized by the mandate of the voters. But after they have been occupied with

school affairs for a while the situation changes. Their study of actual school needs, their observation of the workings of this and that administrative plan, their contact with this and that educational wastage, make them specialists and raise them above the rest of the community in their knowledge of local school matters. From that eminence it is inevitable, if they be keen of vision and sincerely devoted to public welfare, that they should perceive coming needs and promptly set up plans to meet them. From its vantage point the board can foresee that a new type of edifice, different methods of instruction to fit new social conditions, or an enlargement of the administrative staff to handle new problems are going to be required. The interests of the people, according to its view, demand that it make provision for these new departures, and so it announces its plans and asks for funds with which to establish them. Immediately there is a public outcry. The board has taken the bit in its teeth and is running away. The board is wasteful with other people's money. The board seeks only its own aggrandizement. It is trying to find places for its friends, and so on. Naturally, the board is vexed and it answers back, and presently a conflict is on.

The situation would be humorous if it were

not so disastrous in its effects upon human happiness. As a matter of fact, the board and the public are both striving for the same thing—social welfare. And yet they fight! The explanation is that the public does not see what the board sees because it has not had the same experience. If the people could have stood in the board's shoes and viewed the same facts, studied the same conditions, seen the growths of population, witnessed the leakage of pupils from the grades, and been puzzled by the same administrative problems they would ordinarily have arrived at the same conclusions as the board and proposed the same remedies.

Such clashes are signs of healthy political conditions. They indicate an adaptation on the part of our institutions to growing social conditions, and they are evidence of a widening participation in governmental affairs on the part of the mass of the people. But clashes are always accompanied by a waste of effort, and modern administrators are seeking to avoid this waste by doing away with the conditions out of which the conflicts arise. Their instrument is publicity.

School boards possess not only the usual avenues to the public, that is, the press and the printed report, but they also have the child channel to the home and, what they are more

and more discovering, the neighborhood forum, latent or in actual operation in their own school plants. Newspapers and pamphlets have their uses, but they fall far short of perfection as means of publicity. The spoken word may not reach so many minds, but it is usually more persuasive. The platform is at the same time both a transmitting and a receiving station, and both sentiment and information are exchanged at the public meeting. The facilitation and the organization of public discussions in public school auditoriums are going to give school authorities a contact with parents and taxpayers such as they have never had before, and the result is bound to further educational progress.

The school forum, once organized, will probably not be able to confine itself strictly to educational topics. But since adequacy in the provision of public-school facilities is always dependent upon the health of the whole civic body, any process which promotes the latter is bound always to confer some benefits upon the former. At the present moment both the municipal government and the Board of Education of Cleveland are seriously handicapped by insufficient funds. The city is in the economically unfortunate position of having to borrow money in order to meet current municipal expenses.

The school authorities are unable to house properly all their pupils because of a lack of money. The trouble in both cases is mainly due to the narrow bounds within which the State Legislature allows the authorities of the city and of the school district to impose taxes upon their respective constituents. A maximum combined tax-rate of 15 mills on the dollar, which may have appeared ample in 1911 when the law in question was enacted, has now, through the operation of entirely natural causes, become painfully inadequate. It is evident that this state of affairs cannot endure. Some day sufficient pressure will be brought to bear upon the State Legislature to remove or modify this restriction. The point to be observed here is simply this. Unless the always unwise method of political intrigue is used, this statutory change will come only in response to an irresistible demand of popular sentiment. The obstacles to the creation and organization of that sentiment, whether they be the apathy of selfish property-owners, the hostility of short-sighted real-estate associations, or a paralyzing inter-city jealousy, can be removed by only one instrument—wide and intensive public discussion. If there were in every neighborhood platforms from which the city and school officials could explain the services they are en-

deavoring to render to the people, if these officers could demonstrate just how they are handicapped by the insufficiency of existing appropriations, and could drive home the unfairness of making coming generations pay for benefits present citizens are enjoying, there would be generated the power which would eventually motivate a state-wide movement for the amendment of the tax-limiting statute. The appropriate—and in some sections the only—places for such meetings are the school assembly halls. By facilitating their use for the systematic discussion of civic needs the school authorities will not only furnish a broader educational service to the citizens, but will hasten the day of ampler means for their own regular activities.

We have now outlined three phases of development to which it is believed the Cleveland school authorities will give increasing consideration as time goes on: (1) The arrangement of enjoyable and instructive occasions which will bring parents into contact with school standards and the provision of club and play activities for the after-class and evening periods which will draw boys and girls off from the street; (2) the establishment of recreational and developmental opportunities for young people's use during leisure-time; (3) the facilitation of

the adult public discussion of school and civic matters in assembly halls. How these are related to the coming large development will be set forth later on—the question first to be answered is, Does the Cleveland Board possess the physical facilities which are requisite for such an extension of its work as that outlined? Let us now address ourselves to this practical inquiry.

Plant Equipped for Wider Use

Few cities in the country have school buildings which are more generally and more completely adapted to recreational, cultural, and civic uses than those of Cleveland. Of the 114 public schools, over four-fifths have auditoriums, nearly one-third possess gymnasiums, while about one-half have one or more inside play-rooms. If placed side by side, these special rooms would cover 10 acres of ground and they have cost the taxpayers more than a million dollars.

Not all the gymnasiums are fully equipped with apparatus and some are quite deficient in this respect, but in the later development of indoor sports more emphasis is placed upon such activities as basket-ball, hand-ball, and various other games which require a minimum of equipment. There is not a gymnasium or

inside play-room in the Cleveland schools which cannot be made the scene of healthy, vigorous play if capable leadership is provided. Nearly 40 of the buildings are equipped with showers, and in the Kennard and Brownell schools there are swimming-pools. This latter feature is also provided for in five of the new buildings of the type of the Rawlings and the Empire.

Several of the buildings, such as the Brownell, the Eagle, and the Hough, have specially furnished club-rooms with tables, chairs, and pictures which make attractive resorts for the groups that enjoy their privileges. A similar room once existed in the Mayflower school, but unfortunately the overcrowding of the building compelled its requisition for classroom purposes. In the latter school, and also in the Deaf school, there are lunch-rooms equipped with practicable kitchens, both under daily use, which would readily lend themselves as places of refreshment for neighborhood parties and other social occasions. In the new Empire building there is a delightful balcony off the capacious domestic-science kitchen whose extraordinary utility will not be wholly realized if it is not appropriated for evening functions as well as those of the daytime. In eight high schools and in the Tremont, Milford, Eagle, Fullerton, Rosedale,

Club room in Cleveland's Mayflower School now used for Class Work

Gilbert, and Normal schools there are library rooms, which are open from one to six days a week. Some are open two days, others three and five days, two (Tremont and Eagle) being accessible to the public evenings. These are branches of the Public Library and are administered by members of its staff while the quarters, light, heat, and custodial service are furnished by the Board of Education. The new Empire building, now turned into a junior high school, has a room that is excellently proportioned and disposed for library work. Its high ceiling, the large fireplace with decorated mantel, the supply-room adjoining, and the street entrance close at hand all fit the place for a wide neighborhood and school library service.

The auditoriums and interior halls of the elementary schools, all fitted with electric lights, have seating capacities for an aggregate of about 35,000 people. Not all of the lower halls in the older buildings are provided with platforms and chairs, but there are few of them which could not be so equipped. Many of these assembly rooms are furnished with stereopticons, screens, suitable stages, rods for sliding curtains, dressing-rooms, and pianos. Some also have side-lighting fixtures, while the stages in the newer buildings have footlights and aprons. In some of the older buildings the auditorium

is on an upper floor, but in all of the later type it is on the first floor, with entrances that are ordinarily easily reached from the street without passing classroom doors. In the Brownell school the hall was very happily placed between two buildings in such a way as to be accessible to both and at the same time quite separate from both. The gymnasium and pool beneath it and the club-room adjoining it can all be shut off from the rest of the building and made directly accessible to the public. In the Board's newest type of building, as exemplified in the Rawlings and Empire schools, the auditorium has a sloping floor, is equipped with opera chairs, and is provided with two street entrances in the lobbies of which there are ticket-takers' booths and toilet facilities. The extension which contains this hall projects out in front of the edifice toward the street and is so shut off from the rest of the building that any affair taking place within it will cause no disturbance at all to the activities in other parts of the school.

During the present congestion of pupils it has been necessary in a number of cases to partition off portions of the assembly room for classroom purposes. In some instances no partitions have been erected, but sections of the seating have been removed and classroom furniture, includ-

ing the teacher's desk and some portable blackboards, has been installed in their places. Where these intrusions have been made in the back part of the hall, as, for example, in the Longwood school, they have not greatly interfered with the use of the auditorium, but where they have occurred in the pit (e. g., Memorial) they have placed a great handicap upon the utility of the space for public exercises. It is greatly to be hoped that an effective solution of the congestion problem* will permit the early restoration of these invaded auditoriums to their appropriate uses.

About four out of five of the Cleveland schools possess large, well-lighted kindergarten rooms. Since these rooms have no fixed seats and desks and are ordinarily equipped with pianos they constitute an exceedingly valuable resource for various kinds of evening use by clubs and societies. Some 30 of the schools are manual-training centers and have equipments for shop-work or cooking and sewing, and in most cases for both. Few social settlements have as adequate an apparatus for their club work as is found in the poorest of these school centers. In the Eagle school the shop, through

* This subject is considered in detail in the section of the Survey report entitled "Overcrowded Schools and the Platoon Plan."

its evening use, is rendering incalculable social benefits to its neighborhood and the same kind of increased dividends might be realized from all the other manual-training centers if they were utilized to the same extent.

The Cleveland high schools and normal school have all the accommodations for athletic activities, large gatherings, and social occasions which are nowadays found in the better institutions of their class. Since the seats (combined capacity 9,274) and all the other furnishings are designed for adult use, there is practically no part of these buildings which cannot be used evenings when needed. In view of their ready adaptability for amateur theatricals, lectures, civic meetings, concerts, motion-picture exhibitions, dances, and athletic contests they are among the community's most important cultural, social, and recreational assets.

The time will doubtless come when Cleveland will install in all its new school edifices motion-picture machines and booths, movable desks and chairs in at least some of the classrooms, and perhaps some billiard tables (they have 25 of them in the Milwaukee schools now) and bowling alleys in some of the ground-floor rooms. Somewhere in the building there will also be quarters suitable for a branch library which will be open evenings. But even now

Cleveland has extraordinary accommodations for affording satisfaction to the recreational, social, and civic needs of its youths and adults. They have the great advantage over those of the Y. M. C. A.s and the social settlements that they are distributed all over the city and consequently are relatively close and accessible to everybody. The value of this convenience of location is obvious.

Society is becoming more and more conscious of the existence of waste and disuse. An institution in which public capital is invested that is not yielding the maximum of possible return can not nowadays long escape criticism. Educational authorities have everywhere become rather acutely sensitive to the comparatively limited utilization (about one-third of that which is physically possible) that is made of a school plant when it is devoted only to day instruction. This economic motive explains the spreading interest in the movement for "wider use" that is now sweeping over the country. The extension we are prophesying for the Cleveland system is in precisely this direction. Does the measure to which the Cleveland school buildings were utilized during 1914–15 reveal an opportunity, and a motive, for furthering the development which is under discussion? Let us see.

After-class Use of School Facilities

The after-class and evening utilization of the Cleveland school edifices has taken, during recent years, two main forms—(1) regular night-school sessions under the direction of the Educational Department, and (2) lettings to various clubs and organizations for miscellaneous gatherings, entertainments, and indoor games under the general supervision of the Business Department. In addition to these there are a small number of affairs—entertainments, dances, or bazaars—gotten up either by or for the pupils of the respective schools. Many of these are for the purpose of raising funds for some kind of school furnishings or equipment. The Board rules at present permit a school to hold only two admission-fee entertainments a year.

The secondary evening instruction during 1914–15 was carried on in seven high schools, and the combined academic, technical, and commercial classes occupied 125 rooms between 80 and 85 evenings, while the extra spring term in the East Technical High School made a further use of 29 rooms for 40 days. The total number of rooms in these seven buildings is 268, which, after deducting the auditoriums and gymnasiums (whose evening use is to be treated later), is about twice the number that is

utilized for the night classes. In addition there are four high school buildings, containing over 90 rooms, which are not used for night-school purposes at all. It is evident that there is room, in respect to both time and space, for an extension of the evening use of high-school classrooms. The elementary evening classes of 1914–15 utilized 132 classrooms in 34 buildings (eight of these were not public school edifices) for 102 nights. As there are over 1,700 standard classrooms in the Cleveland elementary schools and 184 days in the scholastic year, it is apparent that here also is room for an extension of use.

The 1915 school directory contains a list of 94 auditoriums and halls with a total combined seating capacity of 43,797. Eleven of these are in the high and normal schools. Outside of class hours these accommodations are used in two ways, (1) for the school entertainments already mentioned, and (2) by outside organizations having some educational, civic, or recreational object in view. The meetings of both sorts held in assembly halls during 1914–15, as related in the custodians' reports to the Director of Schools, are summarized in Table 1 on page 78. The 11 elementary schools which reported over 12 auditorium occasions are named specifically while the 46 having less than 12 are bunched together. It will be observed that of

the 83 elementary schools set down in the directory as having auditoriums or halls 24 are not reported as having had any after-school use at all. An examination of the custodians' reports showed that of the 719 occasions, some 287, or about 40 per cent, occurred in the after-

TABLE 1.—USE OF SCHOOL AUDITORIUMS AFTER DISMISSAL OF DAY CLASSES DURING THE PERIOD SEPTEMBER, 1914, TO AUGUST, 1915, INCLUSIVE

School	Organizations which used auditorium	Times auditorium was used	Total attendance
Normal	4	5	1,130
10 high schools	113	236	90,545
Bolton	7	14	1,882
Broadway	5	15	1,925
Brownell	10	74	6,797
Denison	4	13	1,845
Eagle	6	57	3,995
Memphis	5	19	2,749
Miles	6	18	3,854
Milford	4	17	2,494
Sibley	7	21	6,940
Tod	6	19	1,712
Tremont	2	19	2,806
46 elementary schools	113	192	44,573
Total	292	719	173,247

noon, leaving only 432 for the period after six o'clock. In the case of Brownell school, which apparently has the highest showing, 36 of the reported occasions were held before six o'clock, leaving for the after-supper period only 38, or one a week for the school year. The Eagle,

whose auditorium occasions were practically all after six p. m., averaged less than two a week for the regular school year, while none of the other elementary schools came up to the one-a-week average. If the 432 after-supper occasions were spread out among all the 92 buildings which contain auditoriums, they would amount to less than five per building for the year.

"Wider use" customs vary so greatly throughout the country that it would be impossible to set a figure which would fairly represent 100 per cent utilization for Cleveland's 94 assembly halls. If one were to hazard three times a week as the frequency with which citizens might well be expected to resort to their schoolhouses after supper for intellectual entertainment and the discussion of their common problems, that rate of use carried on for 38 weeks in the 94 auditoriums would amount to 11,716 occasions. Whether this number, or one-third of it, be taken as the measure of the evening utilization which should be made of Cleveland's school halls it is evident that the 1914–15 record of 432 occasions leaves ample margin for a considerable extension of use. In the new Rawlings and Empire schools the auditoriums alone, on the basis of their cubic capacities, represent outlays in the neighborhood of $18,000.00 and

$24,000.00 respectively. Day instruction as practised in the Cleveland schools makes (except in the 19 buildings where grades have been temporarily housed in auditoriums) a comparatively slight use of the assembly hall and it is inevitable that public sentiment is going to demand, and the school authorities are going to be disposed to afford, an ever-increasing utilization of the most expensive room in the modern school plant.

The use given to school gymnasiums and playrooms after class dismissal during 1914–15 is summarized in Table 2 on page 81. The occasions enumerated include both those for the benefit of the pupils and those enjoyed by neighborhood groups or organizations not connected with the school. The figures are compiled from custodians' reports and they show that relatively a much greater marginal use is given to gymnasiums than to auditoriums. Of the 1,975 occasions recorded, 322, or about 16 per cent, occurred in the afternoon before six o'clock and 1,653 took place after that hour. The time of the use varies greatly with different schools. All the gymnasium occasions recorded for the Eagle school happened during the after-supper period, but 102 of the 107 credited to the Warren school took place before the evening meal-hour and a majority of those at the Memphis

school also happened during the afternoon period.

The school directory names 33 elementary schools as having gymnasiums, but 12 of these

TABLE 2.—AFTER-SCHOOL USE OF SCHOOL GYMNASIUMS DURING THE PERIOD SEPTEMBER, 1914, TO AUGUST, 1915, INCLUSIVE

School	Organizations which used gymnasium	Times gymnasium was used	Total attendance
Normal	13	78	2,718
10 high schools	102	723	54,583
Addison	6	41	1,435
Barkwill	3	6	725
Boulevard	8	91	4,261
Boys'	3	129	2,678
Brownell	8	93	4,921
Chesterfield	4	28	787
Downing	3	23	775
Dunham	1	2	24
Eagle	5	190	8,377
East Boulevard	1	1	100
Halle	2	15	271
Mayflower	3	63	1,400
Memphis	2	83	1,342
Miles	8	43	2,637
Nottingham	3	11	914
South	5	35	915
Tremont	2	83	1,924
Warner	5	41	1,634
Warren	3	107	1,978
Washington	2	25	525
Willard	5	64	1,709
Total	197	1,975	96,633

do not appear in Table 2. If their playrooms had any after-school use, it does not appear in the custodians' reports. How much after-hours

utilization should be given to a school playroom? Again there is no norm by which we can judge. There are few neighborhoods in Cleveland or in any other city which would not reveal, if the search were sufficiently conscientious, a need of indoor play facilities on six evenings a week during the school year. Suppose, however, that four nights a week be taken as a standard. That frequency of use in 33 gymnasiums during 38 weeks would give 5,168 occasions, nearly three times Cleveland's recorded utilization for 1914–15. If there is also taken into consideration how inadequately most of the schools are meeting the need of indoor play opportunities in the hours just before supper, it will be seen that there is plenty of room for a further development of the recreational resources of the Cleveland school plants.

Considerable Evidence of Popular Demand

According to the custodians' reports the total after-class lettings of school accommodations during 1914–15 numbered 3,469. Of these, 462 were for mothers' club meetings, class dances, pupil society meetings, pay entertainments, bazaars, or some other kind of purely

Meeting of Italian mothers' club in a Milwaukee school

school function and 3,007 were lettings to outside organizations. A large part of the latter consisted of clubs or Sunday-school classes connected with some 27 different churches which, along with two dozen or more specifically named athletic societies, sought the use of school gymnasiums and showers for basketball and similar indoor games. The varied character of the bodies which hired the auditoriums, club and class-rooms can best be discovered from a perusal of the following partial but representative list.

GROUPS USING SCHOOL ACCOMMODATIONS

Twentieth Ward Improvement Association
East End Chamber of Commerce
East End Neighborhood Club
Women's Suffrage Political League
Municipal School League
Spanish War Veterans
Ladies' Relief Corps
Knights of Pythias Lodge
Public School Association
D. A. R. Clubs
G. A. R. Post
Garment Workers' Union
Warner Civic Association
Normal Alumni
Alumni Club

Sanitation Club
Social Center Club
Teachers' and Mothers' Club
Civic League
Western Reserve Dental Club
Thespian Dramatic Club
South End Choral Society
Mendelssohn Choir
Boys' Glee Club
Boy Scouts
Boy Cadets
Camp Fire Girls
Y. W. C. A.
Mothers' Club
Anti-Fly Campaign
Boys' Chef Club
Patrons' Club
Social Club
German Club
Latin Club
Syrian Club

These names show concretely what a wide range of Cleveland's social elements are nowadays seeking the kind of facilities which a modern school edifice possesses. In the majority of cases these groups were obliged to pay custodians' fees ranging from $.30 to $5.00 an evening depending on the size of the quarters used. That fact attests the genuineness of this demand and its vigor is further evidenced by the rapid growth in volume which, as shown in

Table 3, has practically doubled during the past two years.

TABLE 3.—GROWTH OF AFTER-SCHOOL USE OF SCHOOL FACILITIES BY NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

	1913–14	1914–15	Per cent increase
Organizations using buildings	298	596	100
Total lettings	1,932	3,007	56
Fees paid to custodians by organizations	$1,729.91	$2,813.55	62
Aggregate attendance	120 511	276,253	129

Other evidences of the prevalent demand for indoor recreational opportunities and meeting-places are abundant in Cleveland. The Head Worker of Hiram House states that despite the present shifting of the population in that particular district, their buildings are constantly crowded and the need for club facilities is greater than they can meet. At the Y. W. C. A. the demand for swimming-pool privileges is greater than that institution can supply. The City Commissioner of Recreation reports that during the months of August and September of this year the applications from boys for membership in the Woodland Avenue bath-house were four times its capacity, while those from girls amounted to over twice the number which could be granted. Such facts as these could be multiplied with little searching. Con-

sidering these signs along with the variety and quantity of the applications represented by last year's school lettings one does not need to trouble further over the question as to how a still greater extension of Cleveland's educational service will be received by the mass of the people.

The Pressure of Administrative Difficulties

Whenever a staff is compelled to perform duties which were not contemplated at the time it was organized more or less friction is bound to occur. The administrative labor incidental to the night use of school halls and gymnasiums summarized above is enormous and it has piled up on the school organization without any increase of personnel or special means of handling it. The custodians have, as we have seen, been compensated for their additional work, but that is practically the only administrative adjustment that has been made up to now for carrying the enlarged burden. Where the strain has fallen will be made clearer by a glance at the way the lettings have been handled.

The rules of the Board place upon the Director of Schools the control of all uses of buildings for other than "the regular school

work." Besides permitting teachers and pupils to hold after-class occasions pertaining to school interests the Director is empowered to grant the use of school quarters to mothers' clubs, improvement leagues, gymnasium classes, patriotic clubs or similar groups for gatherings which "are helpful to the intellectual, physical and moral welfare of the pupils and patrons of the various districts," provided such use does not interfere with the regular school activities. The rules further provide that

"Any group of people or organization desiring to use a school building for the discussion of any question of public policy, or to carry out a program helpful to the community, must file with the Director a petition signed by at least five citizens of the district in which the building is located, and state the object and speakers. The Director shall then have power to grant the use of said buildings and appoint a supervisor for same at an amount not to exceed $5.00 per night provided that said petitioners assume all other financial responsibility, including $5.00, said amount to be deposited with the Director when petition is granted, for the janitor, and any damage to the building. Said petitioners shall likewise be responsible for the success of their meeting which shall be free and open to the public, except when otherwise authorized or permitted by this Board or its rules.

"The use of school buildings shall not be granted for religious meetings.

"The carrying of lighted cigars, cigarettes or pipes into buildings under the control of the Board is strictly forbidden."

For working out matters of policy and a kind of general supervision of after-school occasions the Director has had the assistance of the head of the Division of Medical Inspection and Physical Education, a bureau which handles not only the work of the school doctors and nurses and the instruction in physical training, but the open-air rooms, mental examinations, dental clinics, school feeding, school gardens and summer school playgrounds. The routine handling of the vast number of applications for the meeting-place and play privileges, the verification of the residence qualifications and general responsibility of the five citizens who join in the petition, the scrutiny of the purposes of the meeting, the prevention of conflicts between the uses of the outside organizations and the local school staffs, and all the telephoning and office interviews which are incidental to the letting procedure—this work has fallen upon the Director's secretary and other members of his regular office staff, assistants who were given him for the primary purpose of helping with the voluminous details involved in the care of

Lecture in the Marion School in Cleveland

the physical equipment of a large school system. Despite the notable efficiency of the Director's organization, this extra work has produced a burden it was not designed to bear.

In connection with such a large amount of activity as is represented by 1,975 occasions in gymnasiums, largely devoted to athletic games on the part of growing boys under insufficient and often unskilled supervision, unpleasant things are bound to happen. Window panes and other property will be injured. Equipment used by the day staff will suffer deterioration and consequent friction with that element will develop. Undesirable game practices will creep in. Athletic standards will fall and criticism on the part of persons outside the school system who are specially interested in juvenile training will be engendered. With no more of a staff than has hitherto been provided for this evening gymnasium life these kinds of misuses are bound to happen and nobody has been more conscious of them or regretted them more than the officials of the business department.

The Board of Education's own contact with the after-school utilization problems has also been attended with trouble. At the Brownell school, the Hodge school and several others, consecutive evening activities have been carried on by church committees, the D. A. R., or

similar organizations. With these bodies understandings or arrangements have been reached by means of direct communications to the Board of Education. In consideration of equipment furnished to club-rooms or aid in the organization and oversight of activities given by the outside group, the Board has granted extended privileges covering certain regular nights and also has undertaken the extra compensation of the custodian. Fees of this sort paid by the Board during 1914–15 amounted to $778.13. While these special arrangements have generally secured better auspices for the activities and guaranteed a larger feeling of responsibility for the proper use of school facilities they have consumed the Board's time and energy, subjected it to increased importunings from private organizations which it did not feel able to please, and committed it to a procedure that must have been regarded by the members as a make-shift treatment of an important problem. Not that dealing with voluntary groups in "wider use" affairs is wrong in principle, but it is an awkward and cumbersome process when carried on without machinery specially designed for giving effect to a well-defined policy.

The Board has also suffered from the kind of annoyance that is generally felt by an organiza-

tion upon which burdens are being piled from the outside faster than it is ready to receive them. It is always an uncomfortable experience to have one's house invaded by a crowd of visitors before the whole family has agreed upon the kind of welcome which will be extended and the program of entertainment which will be offered. Through somebody's zeal for the improvement of recreational opportunity it happened last year that persons on the regular night-school pay-roll in the Eagle school were allowed to carry on a program of activities which many people would denominate as having both evening-school and "social-center" features. From the custodian's reports it appears that such facilities as these were used: game-room, gymnasium, manual-training room, domestic-science room, club-room, and auditorium. According to the same documents the groups which used them were called: Boys' Club, Gymnasium Class, Manual-Training Class, Syrian Girls' Club, Dancing Club, Syrian Woman's Club, Boys' Chef Club, Syrian Boys' Club, Citizenship Class, and so forth. The principal of this "night school" was the school medical inspector, a man who is noted for his interest in social welfare. In some way it became noised abroad that a "social center" was being maintained in the Eagle school out

of night-school funds. The Board made an investigation. Certain of the members liked the work the teachers were doing even if it could be called of a social-center nature; others insisted that night-school money could not legally be expended upon activities bearing a different name. The situation bore hardest of course upon the supervisor of elementary evening schools and he was finally able to smooth the matter out by making the following explanation:*

"The game-room was inaugurated as a relief for the gymnasium for this reason: Mothers who came to the school to study in the domestic-science class and fathers who were studying in the regular classes brought their children with them to the school, and they were left in the gymnasium. The gymnasium was too small to accommodate all who wished to participate in the activities. Some of the boys were placed in the game-room under Miss Dwyer, and the smaller children were cared for by her also, games being provided for their amusement while waiting for their parents. . . . ."

Friction of this character is due to mental unpreparedness. It is apt to happen to any governing body which is confronted by a new situation and has not yet reached unanimity of

* Proceedings of the Board of Education, March 15, 1915.

opinion as to the proper method of handling it. As a matter of fact, the social-center question has troubled the Cleveland school authorities for some time. An extensive development of public lectures and entertainments several years back under a committee of the Board had whetted the popular appetite for a greater utilization of school edifices. In response to an evident public and pedagogical demand auditoriums and gymnasiums were incorporated in the Board's building policy. These increased facilities together with the impulse of the "wider use" movement served to strengthen still more the pressure upon the Board. Its members were still, however, honestly divided in opinion as to the propriety and legality of using school funds for the maintenance of social and recreational activities, especially in view of the insufficiency of funds available for the system's principal work. During the last two years a compromise policy has been followed. The public has been allowed to come into school buildings, but no organization has been provided to care for them after they got in. As already indicated, administrative strain and friction have been attendant upon this practice and the annoyances generally resulting from the maintenance of a passive attitude toward a strong popular demand have been experienced.

On November 15, 1915, the Cleveland Board created the Division of School Extension whose function it is to administer the evening use of school buildings for all purposes other than night schools. The establishment of this bureau unites structurally the outreaching tendencies of the school system with the demands which society was pushing toward it. Its inauguration constitutes the formal and deliberate inception of the large extension of educational activity toward which this whole discussion has been pointed.

Beginning of the New Development

The resolution creating the Division of School Extension authorizes the Director of Schools to appoint a supervisor of community centers, a clerk, and a number of supervisors and assistant supervisors of individual and special activities who are to follow a program of work outlined in a report of the Board's Committee on Social Welfare. According to that report, the miscellaneous gymnasium and club-room activities which last year were permitted in buildings distributed all over the city are now to be concentrated in 16 specified schools and to be administered by the staff of the new Division. The Board assumes responsibility

for the heat, light, janitor service, and supervision at these 16 centers, but in lieu of the custodian's fees, which were formerly exacted from the clubs to which facilities were let, individual fees to the amount of 25 cents a month will be collected from all persons who regularly avail themselves of the privileges of the center. These provisions apply to the use of gymnasiums, manual-training shops, domestic-science and club-rooms and swimming-pools in the selected schools. The auditoriums in these centers are made available for neighborhood meetings on the nights when the building is open without cost to the users. The assembly room of any other school building may also be let for a community gathering upon the request of five citizens who are willing to pay the custodian's fee of $2.50 and assume responsibility for the supervision of the meeting and any damage which may happen to school property. Broadly speaking, the new scheme concentrates the athletic and recreational activities and organizes them upon a club basis while continuing the community gatherings on the open-door policy of the past two years.

Before adopting this plan the Board submitted it to the Advisory Council of the municipal Division of Recreation and obtained their approval of its proposals. This Council is com-

posed of men and women who represent varied elements of public opinion and have the best interests of the city at heart. With their support back of it the Board will be able to set out upon its new task with greater confidence and assurance. The title "Division of School Extension" is well chosen. It places the activities under it where they belong—on the same plane with all other educational undertakings of the Board. "Community Center" in the place of "Social Center" is also a wise substitution. The latter term has always been ambiguous and suggestive of things which are not truly characteristic of the undertakings to which the name is given. The school as the focal point of certain phases of life which the people of a neighborhood have in common is much more accurately named when it is called a "community center." The fundamental significance of the new division, however, lies in the fact that it marks the adoption, on the part of the Board, of an active and constructive policy in an important field of education and establishes the nucleus of what is destined to be a development of greater and greater magnitude. Henceforth the Board ceases to be on the defensive in the social center controversy and begins to enjoy the advantages of a positive and aggressive attitude. As it takes up the prob-

lems of administration involved in the new plan it will become more and more interested in the results it is accomplishing and have a greater appreciation of their importance and of the opportunities for service in the enlarged rôle society has asked it to assume. The administrative difficulties which will inevitably arise will necessitate a continuous study of the aims of community-center endeavor and a progressive experimentation with various methods of procedure and out of that study and experimentation will come elaboration, development, and expansion.

While the Division of School Extension as established constitutes a step forward whose importance should in no way be underestimated, there are certain features of the plan which as time goes on will, undoubtedly, undergo modification. These changes will come as the result of a continual effort to fit the system to the needs of the people and to keep it at the same time within limits of a sound economic expenditure. For example, last year the athletic clubs which constituted such a large proportion of the users of school facilities enjoyed gymnasium privileges in some 30 schools. The new plan will seek to confine the evening athletic activities to 16 buildings with the result that some boys who played basket-ball last year will either have to

travel a longer distance or forego the privilege. Dissatisfaction is bound to be expressed. The new supervisors will in many instances not have a wide acquaintance in the neighborhood of the centers where they work and will consequently be handicapped in the tasks of overcoming disorderly conduct and of giving a developmental effect to the recreational activities. These two ends can be accomplished in only one way—building up systems of self-government, a process which requires a knowledge of the neighborhood and a larger number of specialists in group organization. The two needs, more centers and more workers without a proportionate increase of expenditure, are going to lead the Division of School Extension to adopt as a part of its plan if the experience of New York and other cities is a trustworthy guide, the formation of a local neighborhood association at each center.

The Community-center Association

Experience shows that much valuable assistance in the maintenance and supervision of a school center can be secured from a neighborhood association which has been organized for that specific purpose. Such a body can come only by a gradual development and by a method of organization that automatically selects those

The Community Center Association of a New York school

people who are attracted by the opportunity for service offered by the ends in view. A group which has grown by accretions around a single purpose will be a closer knit organization and more efficient than one formed originally for some other object. A foster-society is apt to be distracted by heritages and interests acquired in its earlier life. If a group of parents and leading citizens of the district organize and avail themselves of the public school house as a meeting-place where it can feel at home in a sociable way, hold entertainments, and raise and disburse funds, having a real voice in shaping the policy of the center and thus able to perceive the results of its endeavors in the growth and improvement of the center, that organization will thrive and be a blessing to both the school and the neighborhood.

Through its committees such an association would assist the local director in the chaperoning of the social dances and in the selection of the persons to be allowed the dancing privilege. It would furnish him with information regarding the societies in the locality whose members could be induced to contribute musical or dramatic entertainment to the patrons of the center. It would warn him against organizations which were in bad repute and help him to detect those which were seeking to exploit the privileges of

the center for mercenary, partisan or sectarian purposes. It would stimulate the formation of clubs by issuing charters and developing inter-club competitions. The members of such an association would always have intimate knowledge of the events and behavior going on in the center and thus be in a position to defend it from unjust criticism, the countering of which is sometimes accomplished only with great difficulty by paid officials.

While the object of a community center is always that of promoting recreational, social, cultural and civic opportunities, it should never surround its activities with conditions which are unlike those of normal and wholesome life outside. In social clubs members pay specially for billiard and bowling privileges at the time they use them, and there appears to be no good reason why the patrons of a community center should not pay for the use of the gymnasium and the swimming pool. A fee system places a part of the financial burden of the center directly upon the shoulders of those who enjoy its benefits. The expenditure of money is also an important and legitimate part of a patron's leisure-time conduct. From a moral standpoint the manner in which money is spent is just as important as the way in which the spare-time is spent, and a large part of the improvement which the com-

munity-center staff can help to bring about will be accomplished through the development, among individuals and groups, of wise practices concerning money.

Public libraries and parks are supported by a taxation which bears upon all classes and the system is justified by its results. In the same way many of the privileges of the community center may well be supported entirely out of public funds. What privileges shall be free and what subject to a cost fee should be decided only after careful experimentation and with full regard for the prosperity of the center and the vigor of the local association.

An association which is not allowed to raise funds and expend them will probably be short-lived and of little help to the center while it does live. No organization can get very far without money. Bodies of this character in New York City derive an income from motion-picture entertainments, social dances, shares of the membership fees of the clubs chartered by them, percentages of the receipts of club entertainments and membership fees. They expend funds upon motion-picture equipment or film service, music for dancing, printed announcements and advertising, stationery, postage, decorations for school-rooms, apparatus for play- and game-rooms, and upon additional

assistants for the center. It is mainly in such ways that the local association can help to extend the amount of the center's service to the community. For supervisory purposes it is advisable for the school authorities to require from the local associations regular financial statements and they should be given to understand that all their funds must be expended upon the maintenance and extension of community-center activities, but otherwise they should be allowed to remain in complete control of them. The association and its work should be treated as the object of the administrative energy of the school officials and should not be included, in the cost accounting, among the means. Since the association will generally be produced and developed by the paid director it will be much less confusing in getting at the cost of school-center work to keep the Board of Education's expenditures absolutely separate from the disbursements of the local associations. These bodies will undoubtedly make mistakes in handling their funds as in managing other matters, but the only way a strengthening effect can be produced in them is to give them the opportunity of using their own economic muscles. An inspiring and intelligent leadership will greatly help.

Club-life a Means of Self-development

When the Division of School Extension settles down to the problem of taking care of the young people who have hitherto sought mainly gymnasium facilities, its motives are likely to undergo a change. If the experience of other systems holds true in Cleveland there will be an increasing effort to introduce different varieties of cultural opportunities along with the athletics and games. Disciplinary difficulties will bring about some of this change; the natural desire to grow, to reach more patrons and to render greater service will actuate the rest. As the local directors search for means of putting changes of this character into effect it is inevitable that they will hit upon the club or group method, which simply means the endeavor to bring groups together in the center on the same basis as in normal social life, that is, of some form of congeniality. It may be a common liking for literature, or the tie of long association. A class is a group, but the members are arbitrarily selected and may or may not hang together when the teacher withdraws. A group which has grown from a nucleus of two or three individuals who selected the others will make a much more compact and manageable body and hold together for longer than the artificially

organized class. The boy gang and the club that is mentioned in the social register are both formed on the basis of congeniality. A club often has different interests in succession. Of course groups brought together on a common cultural basis, to sing or to draw, will generally keep to their main purpose. But the commoner sort of group which is formed purely on the basis of comradeship generally takes up several pursuits. The experience of social settlement and library workers shows that great things can be accomplished by facilitating the life of these clubs. At the Woodland Public Library there is a group known as the Sumner Club which has been meeting there since 1907. While organized originally as a children's pleasure club and during its existence devoted to various objects, some of its charter members are still with it. Of its present 15 members 13 are now in college, three having won scholarships and three college prizes. During their high-school period the Sumner boys were unusually successful in oratorical and debating contests, and in securing class officerships. As a result of the companionship some have been stimulated to enter college who otherwise would not have made the effort. None of the members smoked until after entering college, a self-restraint due to the influence of their leaders.

The Sumner Club of Cleveland

In connection with the public-library work of Cleveland it should be said that in 1914 there were 72 clubs with a membership of almost 900, meeting at 13 branch libraries. Here are some of their pursuits: debating, drawing, current events, travel, literary study, wireless experimentation, stamp collecting, nature study, camp-fire and boy-scout activities, art and music. The majority of them are naturally devoted to things pertaining to books. None of the other library clubs can boast of a history or achievements similar to those of the Sumner Club, but all are enjoying contact with stimulating personalities and cultural opportunities which could be obtained in no other way.*

There are few social settlements which cannot point to men now distinguished in some public way whose careers had their beginnings in club-rooms they furnished. Everyone knows the importance of the fraternity and the social club in college or professional life. Club-life is just as beneficial to young people of limited means as it is to those of better circumstances and the provision of club opportunities forms a legitimate work for a bureau of school extension.

The club organizer of the Cleveland Public

* School libraries are studied in the section of the Survey report entitled "The Public Library and the Public School."

Library has been able to enlist the services of 83 volunteer club-leaders. They include college graduates, lawyers, business and professional men of standing. The National Boy-Scout organization has been able to enlist in its own service no less than 35,000 volunteers from the ranks of men who are active in business and professional life. There is every reason for believing that the Division of School Extension will also be able to utilize the vast resources of leadership that exist among Cleveland's public-spirited citizens. As the list of the organizations making use of school facilities has shown, the city is full of groups of young people already organized on a club basis. Furnishing them with leaders and permanent meeting places will insure their progress along the path of self-improvement and doing this is bound to be increasingly the function of the school community center.

Regulating Community Discussions

In connection with the letting of school auditoriums for community gatherings there are likely to occur now and then discussions which will provoke public criticism. Some people will feel that another class of people is promoting abhorrent doctrines through the use of a com-

monly owned and supported public building. But so long as the constitutional guarantee of free speech is preserved people will talk and if the principles of democracy are sound, our institutions have nothing to fear from open, all-round, orderly discussion of all common interests. It is when propagandism is carried on in obscure places, away from the cleansing light of experience and the searching criticism of practical facts, that it may become dangerous and foment strife.

The right way of satisfying public interest in controversial questions is to make them the subjects of fair, able and dignified discussions at the community center, and to supply information upon them by means of lectures and illustrated talks. In this work the local association will be of great assistance, both in the selection of topics and speakers and in the management of the meetings. With one night a week, or every two weeks, devoted to forum activities each community center would always be available to the school authorities as an instrument of publicity and a means of direct contact with their constituents. Day principals would find in the center platform a straight channel to the parents with the standards they are trying to enforce in their schools.

Experience will eventually show the wisdom of transferring the Division of School Extension from the Business Department to the Educational Department. While the former is well organized and unusually efficient, its standpoint is necessarily that of the custodian and preserver of school property. By its nature it is not designed to promote an organization whose main purpose must be not merely the utilization of school facilities but their utilization for educational and social ends. While the Business Department will undoubtedly maintain an active and expert organization the Division will not be in a position to attain its full normal development until it is regarded as an educational enterprise and placed under its natural control.

It will be found necessary also to establish a definite relationship between the community center and the school's day staff. The lack of friction in connection with the evening activities in the Eagle school is attributed by the principal to the fact that they are under the charge of the medical adviser, a member of the day-school staff. The principal herself also gives a great deal of time to the evening activities. However it may be brought about, there will be no easing of the friction between the day and night staffs

until school principals have some responsibility concerning the evening use of their edifices. They should have a voice in the management of the community center and this might well be brought about by giving them membership in the local association and an active part in the work of the executive committee. An official statement from the Superintendent of Schools, either by circular or at a conference of principals, that the full measure of their professional obligations included an active interest in the relationship of their school to the whole district would help to insure a right attitude of mind toward the extension undertakings.

It will be found advisable also to extend the work of the Division of School Extension to cover that of the evening school. These two activities are now handled by the same bureau in a number of cities and the results seem to favor the combination. An effort is being made in many places to make the night school more attractive by adding to its program affairs of a social, recreative or entertaining nature. The gymnasium classes, illustrated lectures, mock trials and trips to public buildings which are offered to the evening pupils in Cleveland are endeavors in the same direction. The motive for making the night school pleasant is the hope of attracting more pupils and of keeping those who

do register for a longer period upon the class rolls. Of the 375 classes which were organized in the evening high schools during the season of 1914–15, 48 or about 13 per cent were discontinued because of poor attendance, while in the evening elementary schools the average nightly attendance was about 34 per cent of all who enrolled. The "mortality" among night-school students is high practically everywhere. The enthusiasm and spurt of ambition which leads many pupils to register soon fails with the coming of fatigue and the distraction of outside amusements.

Directors of evening schools are beginning to give more thought to the special difficulties of their work; they are seeking ways to reduce and counteract the effects of fatigue. In some places the night students are allowed to come directly from work to the school, have supper in the lunch room and then make use of the library or gymnasium until class time. Such privileges not only help to put the young people in better condition for study but also develop *esprit de corps* and extend the cultural influence of the school. In the ordinary school building it will generally be inadvisable to attempt to carry on lively recreational activities in close proximity to formal classroom work. The atmosphere of play often interferes with good

work. If however, recreational and serious activities cannot go on simultaneously it will often be possible to have a short period of relaxation preceding the regular work.

While every facility should be given to the ambitious and resolute student, who knows definitely what he wants, there is also a field of usefulness in helping the youth who has not yet decided upon his vocation, who wants to try some line other than that upon which he is engaged, or who wants to take a course for the sake of a more general culture. The principal of the East Technical High School made an interesting classification of the night pupils in the spring term of 1915. The main object of the evening instruction in this school is to enable students to broaden their ability for the trade at which they are already engaged. When, however, a trade class becomes so small as to endanger its continuance students not of that trade are also admitted. At the end of the term an analysis of those in attendance was made which showed that practically only one-third of all the students were studying the trade at which they were engaged during the day. One-third were doing work in a course devoted to some trade in the same general field as the daily occupation and the other third were taking, for the sake of general information,

or for some other reason, a course in a new field. This study is significant because of the large number which are shown to be interested in some other subject than the one at which they are earning their bread. Trade improvement instruction merits the most substantial kind of support, but evening schools can also perform an important social service by affording opportunities for development and self-realization to those who have not yet found their niche in life. Since both the community center and the evening school occupy the margin of the day and both have aims and conduct activities of an increasingly similar nature, there is going to be found an administrative economy in combining the two departments under one head.

For a while the new Division of School Extension may be in occasional jeopardy from gusts of administrative economy or storms of public criticism. The latest addition to an institution is frequently the first to suffer during a period of adversity. But as time goes on its place will become more and more fixed until, eventually, it will be as firmly established as the school system itself and the basis of its security will consist in its usefulness as an educational agency. The community center will be not only developed, but ultimately cherished, by the school authorities for the reasons that they

will increasingly find in it a way of getting the co-operation of the home, a means of maintaining an improving influence around their charges clear into adulthood, and a direct channel to their constituents for the transmission of civic intelligence and the gracious influences of culture.

Summary

1. School systems are continually assuming new functions.

2. An extension of educational activity is imminent in Cleveland. The school has already initiated certain undertakings that involve the wider use of the school plant.

3. All activities which prepare for useful citizenship come within the scope of this system.

4. The principle of efficiency requires the overcoming of conditions which prevent school training from finding secure lodgment in pupils' natures or which neutralize it before the age of citizenship has been reached.

5. There are home and street influences in every school district which tend to undo the work of the schools.

6. Offering young people activities that reveal and develop ability while at the same time satisfying the instinct for play is an effective method

whereby public education is now extending its oversight through the teen-age.

7. The school forum offers the educational authorities a needed point of contact with parents and citizens.

8. The Cleveland school plant is well equipped for a wider use.

9. The actual after-class use of Cleveland school facilities leaves a considerable margin for further utilization.

10. The variety and number of the clubs and organizations to which school facilities were let last year are evidence of a strong public demand for such privileges.

11. The miscellaneous evening occasions have imposed an undue strain upon the school organization.

12. The new Division of School Extension will grow through the natural effort to overcome administrative difficulties and to satisfy increasing public demands.

13. Local neighborhood associations should in due course be organized to help in the support and direction of community centers.

14. The organization and development of clubs in community center work should be initiated and encouraged.

15. Organizing public meetings in the schoolhouse is the best way of overcoming the friction

sometimes generated by discussions held under the auspices of outside groups.

16. The administrative control of the Division of School Extension ought to be transferred from the Business Department to the Educational Department.

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CLEVELAND EDUCATION SURVEY REPORTS

These reports can be secured from the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, Ohio. They will be sent postpaid for 25 cents per volume with the exception of "Measuring the Work of the Public Schools" by Judd, "The Cleveland School Survey" by Ayres, and "Wage Earning and Education" by Luts. These three volumes will be sent for 50 cents each. All of these reports may be secured at the same rates from the Division of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

Child Accounting in the Public Schools—Ayres.
Educational Extension—Perry.
Education through Recreation—Johnson.
Financing the Public Schools—Clark.
Health Work in the Public Schools—Ayres.
Household Arts and School Lunches—Boughton.
Measuring the Work of the Public Schools—Judd.
Overcrowded Schools and the Platoon Plan—Hartwell.
School Buildings and Equipment—Ayres.
Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children—Mitchell.
School Organization and Administration—Ayres.
The Public Library and the Public Schools—Ayres and McKinnie.
The School and the Immigrant.
The Teaching Staff—Jessup.
What the Schools Teach and Might Teach—Bobbitt.
The Cleveland School Survey (Summary)—Ayres.

Boys and Girls in Commercial Work—Stevens.
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